

In fact

For The Millions Who Want a Free Press

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George Seldes, Editor

If Your Name Is Addressed in
Red See Page 3

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IN FACT and the War

An Editorial

ON May 20 IN FACT passed its second birthday, entered its third year, without as much as a paragraph of celebration. In two years your editor has written three or four editorials and refrained as much as is humanly possible from letting editorial views interfere with the facts presented.

Since the last editorial was written the United States has been attacked by united Fascism, and the wars in all parts of the world have been welded into one great Global War.

Vice-President Wallace has made the clearest statement on the Global War. It was so important, so much the statement of the common people, and so great a declaration against the real Fascism which endangers our world, that the American press suppressed and distorted it. We printed it last week. In a way it illustrates the importance of IN FACT to the American people in wartime. There will be just as important speeches, just as important actions by liberal and progressive organizations, by labor unions, by a united labor movement, by the common people of America, in the immediate future; and judging from the past, and from the crooked journalism of the present, we can predict that the newspapers will suppress the news or handle in a way to fool the American people. The free press in America is not the commercial newspaper press.

First: Win the War

OUR first objective is to win the war.

Every American must know this, think of this, do something about this. It is a cause that stands above everything else, above party, above viewpoint, above affiliations, above all other loyalties. It is a matter of life and death.

But our morale is threatened by all the forces of the Sixth Column, which are the forces of native Fascism, the Fascism of Father Coughlin, the Rev Gerald L K Smith, the publishers Hearst, Howard, McCormick and Patterson, the Fascism of Representatives Martin Dies and Howard Smith and others who prefer Hitlerism to democratic labor, the Fascism of Westbrook Pegler, Hans von Kaltenborn and other newspaper and radio columnists and commentators who raise doubts and cause dissensions.

"Confusion, indecision, fear; these are my weapons," said Hitler, and he might have added: "In America I have my Coughlins, Smiths, Dieses, Peglers, Kaltenborns, McCormicks, Pattersons,

Labor Calls Pegler Enemy of U. S. War Effort; His Record: Pro-Lynching, Pro-Murder, Anti-Labor

EIGHT million Americans read the daily column written by Westbrook Pegler and syndicated by Roy Howard, notorious labor-baiter, friend of Japanese appeasement, and head of the United Press which President Roosevelt has accused of being an outright liar on several occasions. According to the CIO News story, headed "Pegler Is A Liar," documentary evidence proves that this notorious anti-labor columnist also falsifies the poisonous statements he makes against labor. Now at last men and organizations who believe in American democracy are beginning to take action. We note:

1. Alabama State American Federation of Labor resolution: "Pegler . . . is the builder of the Sixth Column movement."
2. Labor's Non-Partisan League, Conn, accuses Pegler of weakening America's war effort, asks all Conn papers to drop column.
3. Colorado Building Service Employees Int'l Union, Local 105, starts state-wide move to demand Roy Howard paper drop Pegler.
4. National Association for Advancement of Colored People protests anti-Negro column; World-Telegram refuses to print protest.
5. Newspaper Guild protests to President Roosevelt against appearance of Pegler column in official AEF paper, Stars and Stripes.
6. Western Mechanics' Union No. 700, Los Angeles, protests to President Roosevelt against spread of Fascist doctrines by McCormick, Patterson and Pegler.
7. Baltimore Industrial Union Council, CIO, passes a resolution condemning Pegler and elects a committee to call on Baltimore News-Post publisher to protest continuation.

Newspapermen Protest Pegler to Roosevelt

Using the appearance of Pegler's column in the AEF paper, Stars & Stripes, as a cause for protest, the largest group of newspapermen in America, NYC membership of American Newspaper Guild (ANG is some 17,000 strong, and few of the notorious "prostitutes of the press" among them) branded Pegler an enemy of national unity. We have received a statement from the Guild from which we publish excerpts:

"The Newspaper Guild of NY membership on May 13 urged discontinuance of publication of a column by Westbrook Pegler . . . in Stars & Stripes. . . .

"Calling the attention of President Roosevelt to a report that Pegler was among the contributors to this soldier paper, the Guild charged that this columnist had since Dec 7 cast doubt on the wisdom of a United Nations victory, and by his writings in domestic newspapers had served the cause of disunity. Copies of the resolutions were directed to Chief of Staff Gen Geo C Marshall, Mr Philip Murray and Mr Wm Green. [The resolution said in part:]

"As citizens, as working newspapermen, and as trade unionists concerned with the ethics of our profession, with the patriotic duty to support the war effort, and conscious of the obligation of a union of newspapermen to keep up morale, the Newspaper Guild of NY's membership lodges this protest against continued publication of Mr Pegler's articles intended for American soldiers facing Hitler across the English Channel.

"Mr Pegler has actually raised a question as to whether a victory of the United Nations against the Fascist Axis would be worthwhile. . . . Mr Pegler by his written word since Dec 7 has given circulation to opinions, views and distortions of fact which would result in setting one group of people against other groups instead of knitting all the people more firmly together for the united war effort essential to the conduct of the war.

"In support of this appeal, and in justification of the assertions involving Mr Pegler, the Guild appends sample exhibitions of his written words since Dec 7:

"Dec 8, 1941. Pegler . . . warns: 'We all know that most of the arguments that American boys would not be sent to a foreign war were campaign trickery us into this war against Germany by evading the Constitution, and his promises that American boys would not be sent to a foreign war were campaign trickery to get himself elected.'

"Dec 11. Pegler accuses the gov't of treachery: 'Dealing off the bottom of the deck, the national gov't betrayed every worker in the country in the decision

of the packed arbitration board to grant Lewis the closed shop in the so-called captive mines. . . . The whole transaction reeked of treachery.'

"Dec 17. Casts doubts on the aims of our Allies: 'Our people are not going to believe that our gallant Allies of Russia are fighting for the four freedoms. . . .'

"Jan 6, 1942. Casts doubt on our own aims and discourages cooperation between capital and labor: 'The (automotive) industry is sure to be socialized now and God only knows who will get it when the war is over, but the odds are that it will never be turned back to the stockholders. . . .'

"Jan 22. Unity . . . disastrous: 'A unified or combined organization of the CIO and the AFL under the present laws and under the leadership of any of the men now prominent in union politics would be disastrous to every American worker.'

"Jan 29: Charges President is moving toward totalitarian state: 'The President is using the bosses of the AFL and CIO for his own political purposes which plainly and irresistibly tend toward a totalitarian state. . . .'

"Feb 18. He tends to tear down our support of an ally: 'They (the Russians) are the most practical patriots of all, fighting for Russia only, and it is inconceivable that they would prolong the war a single hour beyond some point at which they decided that a truce or peace would best serve the interests of Soviet Russia.'

"[March: Pegler on vacation].

"April 4. He again attempts to divide our own people: 'The bitter fact is that the whole American people . . . are never allowed to forget that they are being used to create a new internal force, governed by a few personalities who are contributing nothing to the war, which plans to inherit the government after the war is won.'

"May 1. Divisionist attempt: 'If our side wins the war, Russia will plan the peace of the European continent, and on the basis of all Russia's past performances we can confidently assume that in Germany it will be a peace not much different from that which Hitler has imposed on Poland. . . .'

"May 5. Doubts own war efforts: 'The obliteration of Germany . . . would be a drastic way of preserving civilization, but the only question is whether the real war aim of the US justifies the only positive means of securing that aim.'

"May 13. Cynicism toward our own democratic institutions: 'The Senate is our Reichstag. . . . The Senate is protecting a gigantic political racket. . . . The Senate is a very arrogant organization, blown up with pomposity and indifferent to the will and interest of the people.'

Pegler Charged With Creating National Disunity

In the name of the people of Connecticut, the state in which Pegler lives, Labor's Non-Partisan League has sent a request to the five Connecticut newspapers which print Pegler's column to drop it. The League accuses both Pegler and Kaltenborn of weakening America's war effort through spreading discord.

Says "News of Connecticut" (May 8), official organ LNP League: "Hundreds of commercial newspapers in the nation print Pegler as the most apt spokesman for anti-labor, anti-Roosevelt, and anti-Negro forces in the land. In Conn newspapers which print Pegler include: The New Haven Register, New Britain Herald, Hartford Courant, Bridgeport Post and Waterbury American. Pegler is welcomed in certain circles in Conn where the hope still exists that the state can be maintained open-shop. However, in increasing numbers business and professional people as well as workers are realizing that Pegler is destroying the unity of the nation at the very moment when maximum unity is necessary to win the war. His most recent attacks have been veiled thrusts at the Negro people, at unity between CIO and AFL, and at attempts on the part of labor and management to work jointly together to increase war production.

"Unions and other organizations are being called upon to pass resolutions and send letters by the hundreds to the editors of newspapers printing Pegler, requesting that the columns be discontinued. Such action has already been taken by the Bridgeport Industrial Union Council."

Pegler Accused of Spreading Anti-Allied Poison

The LNPL letter to Conn editors says in part: "In times less critical than the present we believe that the ideas of Mr Pegler would be cause enough for considerable dissatisfaction. However, in this period when national unity is so vital for the winning of the war, Pegler's writings are certainly no contribution in this direction. . . .

"Virtually any one of his columns is enough to prove his venom against labor. His unceasing desire to split and destroy what unity has been achieved in the labor movement; his attempt to set class against class in these times when the common good demands maximum national unity; his attempt to poison our minds against our Allies both at home and abroad; his lack of rudimentary respect even for the President of the US and his wife;—are all well known to readers of your newspaper."

The boycott against papers printing Pegler in Colorado was begun by Local 105 Building Service Employees Int'l Union which celebrated Free Press Week by passing a resolution to boycott the Rocky Mountain News.

IN FACT has received from Merlin Snellen, recording secretary, Western Mechanics' Local Union 700, CIO, Los Angeles, the text of a resolution unanimously adopted and sent to President Roosevelt:

"Whereas, certain publications such as Coughlin's Social Justice, McCormick's

Hearsts and Howards who are confusing the people, causing fear and indecision; they are setting white against Negro, Christians against Jews, Protestants against Catholics, American-born against foreign-born; they are spreading false rumors, saying there will be no more elections, that Britain or China or Russia will make a separate peace; they are continuing my main lie, which is redbaiting; they are doing my work exactly as my radio and propaganda bureau does."

There are 15 main lies which Hitler wants you to believe. You will find them in the booklet "Divide and Conquer" which the Office of Facts and Figures will send you. After you have read it you will know that anyone whose writing, talking and doing spreads defeatism, or divisionism, or confusion is a Sixth Columnist, whether he writes for a newspaper, or heads an anti-labor organization, or is a reactionary Congressman, or speaks over the radio, or merely whispers at the corner store.

What Readers Can Do

FROM time to time IN FACT has been asked to supply "constructive criticism." We don't quite know what is wanted. We assume it means in a general way editorial advice, and we do not think that is necessary. When, for example, we show documentarily that labor exposes Pegler as a liar, that Pegler is being used by the Fascist Associated Industries as a propaganda agent, we do not think it necessary for IN FACT to say to its readers: "Protest to your editor to stop buying the Pegler column; boycott Pegler, boycott the paper which uses him." We do not think it necessary for IN FACT to point out week after week that every reader has the right to protest to the Federal Communications Commission the spread of reactionary, anti-labor lies by the Kaltenborns; and that the reader should stop buying the products the Kaltenborns advertise. We do not think it necessary for IN FACT to tell its readers to join cooperatives, consumers organizations, labor unions, labor guilds; to support the liberal progressive pro-labor publications which tell the truth, and boycott publications which attack labor.

"Often times," writes a Michigan doctor, "we are confronted with a tremendous feeling of futility after reading IN FACT, and we ask each other: 'What can we do to improve this deplorable situation?'" It seems to IN FACT that Dr K ought to know what to do without our putting an editorial "constructive criticism" at the end of all our exposes.

More Facts Wanted

ANOTHER type of letter comes from one of our best Hollywood Winter Soldiers who writes:

"We are disturbed sometimes by what might be described as something 'negative' about IN FACT . . . out here in the outer darkness of the Los Angeles sphere of influence. After reading IN FACT one is sometimes frustrated. We do not know where to head in.

"Here are some things that we don't know anything about, would like to know about, and knowing, would help to fight the Fifth and Sixth Columns effectively, as well as to contribute positively to the war:

"1. Has Donald Nelson's plan for

labor management been carried out? The Los Angeles Times doesn't tell us. And to what extent?

"2. Have increases in production occurred as a result?

"3. What has been the real cause of increases in production?

"4. Have there been statements from management about improved production schedules, labor relations, as a result?

"5. Is production better everywhere, or where boards work?

"P. S. Are we just kidding ourselves."

The Answers

The answers to the five questions are easy. About a fortnight ago Nelson announced there were 700 labor-management boards. We can understand that the Los Angeles Times (which has just won the Pulitzer Prize for freedom of the press, and which has more often than any paper in America lied about labor) should not tell California of the success of this unity of management and labor. Production has increased, and notably where labor-management boards exist. IN FACT has received scores, perhaps hundreds, of letters from labor unions showing how workers, shop stewards, labor leaders, united against Fascism, having a real interest in greatly increased production, and now getting a hearing from management, have shown management a thousand ways of increasing efficiency (and incidentally frequently saving the corporation and the government millions of dollars.) American labor has never before been permitted to cooperate with owners, and still is not given a share in the works, nevertheless American labor—11,000,000 organized, 40,000,000 unorganized—has rallied more wholeheartedly and enthusiastically to the win-the-war program than any other stratum of society. There have been numerous statements from management and ownership crediting labor with the success of the Victory Program. In everything but shipbuilding the program is ahead of schedule.

Unfortunately, IN FACT is limited to some 4,000 words an issue, and usually has several times that amount of material. For example, we received from Federated Press—liberal pro-labor news service—a series of articles by John Dunn entitled "Methods of Increasing War Production." On May 13 FP distributed a 1,200-word statement that the delivery of Flying Fortresses has doubled since Dec 7, that we exceed all the Axis states in tank production, that despite shortages, our shipbuilding is making tremendous progress, etc. Naturally we choose the news which we set out two years ago to supply our readers: the discovery and documentary exposure of Fascism in all its forms, American as well as foreign, and an exposure

Chicago Tribune, Patterson's NYD News, and Hearst's scurrilous sheets, have editorially or through some stooge-hireling like Westbrook Pegler, brazenly mouthed their Fascist doctrines in the faces of the people of this nation who are giving their lives that these very doctrines may not enslave them, and

"Whereas, we are a nation at war against an implacable foe whose successes so far have been insured by a wily Fifth Column spreading dissension and confusion, and

"Whereas the only answer to the divide-and-rule game of the Hitlers is to stand undivided, with one mind, one method and one goal; to stand united, and

"Whereas, the purpose of the Jew-baiting of the Coughlins, the labor-baiting of the Hearsts and the Peglers, and the redbaiting of the McCormicks and Pattersons is to create division, to foster disunity, to undermine and destroy the noble desire of the American people to build a united strength that will crush the Axis war lords, therefore be it

"Resolved, that we urge the government of the US to declare the scribblings of these publications treasonous, and indict their publishers as traitors to their nation; to forthwith deny said publications the use of the US mails and clear them from the public newsstands; to try the sponsors of all such publications in the courts of the land, and if found guilty, incarcerate them in a place where they will be of no value to the enemies, and be it further

"Resolved, that copies of this resolution be sent to President Roosevelt, to the public press, and to the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers." (Signed and sealed, May 7.)

Howard Suppresses Negro Challenge on Pegler

The National Association for Advancement of Colored People is composed of leading white and Negro Americans and is recognized as a spokesman for the 13,000,000 Negroes in the US. Nevertheless, Howard's NY World-Telegram, chief Scripps-Howard paper, refused to print the NAACP's protest following several anti-Negro columns by Pegler. The NAACP sent IN FACT following statements:

"In his column . . . Pegler told of his examination of the Pittsburgh Courier and the Chicago Defender, and strongly intimated that these and other Negro papers were in the same class with Father Coughlin's Social Justice. . . . The NAACP letter to the NY WT declared: 'We challenge Mr Pegler, or anyone else, to find a single disloyal or subversive line in any Negro paper. We challenge him to find any slurs upon President Roosevelt. We challenge him to find any assertion that the Japanese were provoked into this war. We challenge him to find praise of Hitler or the Axis powers. We challenge him to find any suggestion that . . . this is not our war. . . . The Negro press has urged loyal support for the war effort. . . . The Negro press resents the shooting and beating of Negro soldiers in uniform; it complains justly and logically against the restricted quota of Negro flying cadets . . . it resents a lynching. . . . Does Pegler say that these protests are subversive?'"

On May 8 the NAACP announced it had received a refusal from the Pegler paper to print its protest and challenge. NAACP said: "Mr Pegler would do well to examine his own labor-baiting record."

Pegler Fears Unions and FDR More Than Hitler

Every native American Fascist organization has reprinted (with the permission of Mr Pegler, his boss Roy Howard and his editor Lee Wood) numerous labor-baiting columns and has distributed them wholesale. Pegler himself is syndicated to some 120 papers and reaches just about 8,000,000 readers daily. According to Mr. Ickes' 1939 statement, Pegler earned \$46,253 a year.

The National Association of Manufacturers got out a pamphlet entitled "What's Going On In America" and sent it to all anti-labor organizations. It contained numerous column reprints including those of Frank R Kent (Baltimore Sun), the late Hugh Johnson (Hearst syndicate), David Lawrence (NY Sun syndicate), and Pegler. But the worst yet was the reprint of Pegler's Sept 19, 1941 column by the Associated Industries of Cleveland, a purely Fascist outfit whose vicious record was published by the LaFollette Committee. Here is an extract from the accompanying letter of the Associated Industries:

"WESTBROOK PEGLER. All industrialists of course realize what an unparalleled service Westbrook Pegler is rendering through his daily column of incisive, fearless comment. But it is doubtful if more than a handful have ever written him a word of thanks and encouragement. It would be splendid if the readers of this Bulletin would address a few lines of appreciation, as individuals to Mr Pegler (230 Park Ave, NYC)—referring not so much to the especially significant column which is enclosed, but to his entire series."

The column enclosed is headed "Reprinted from The Cleveland Press Sept 18, 1941." Mentioning free speech and criticism in this perilous time, Pegler continues:

"Some days I am frightened by my own stuff and wonder if it wouldn't be better citizenship on my part and more helpful journalism to throw in a sentimental one about the death of my dog. . . . But when I get to thinking about this dangerous union thing, this invisible empire of the irresponsibilities which President Roosevelt has set up in our country, I find I am more afraid of that than of Hitler. . . . I know quite a few young Americans who are under arms or will be under arms soon and facing a war, and I just can't see myself at their age making such sacrifices to the end that, even if our side wins, we then settle down to a life under a lot of American-born brownshirt gangs not much

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different from Hitler's and certainly no more desirable just because we call them pickets or goons. . . ."

Pegler as a Fascist Stooge

In calling Pegler a Fascist stooge, labor unions are not indulging in name-calling and slander; they are stating a fact. The Cleveland Associated Industries, which disseminates Pegler's anti-labor poison, with the consent and approval of Pegler's employers, was exposed as a Fascist organization by the LaFollette Committee in 1938. Testimony showed that the Associated Industries employed spies, thugs, stoolpigeons, paid one strikebreaking spy agency \$24,000, and that it received a \$570 donation to its anti-labor fund from same spy agency. In the AI books which LaFollette comm seized, was notation "Special service rendered the Ohio Rubber Co." Evidence was given that the Associated Industries faked their books, made every attempt to cover up relations with spies. LaFollette comm showed "that the AI used newspaper ads furnished by the National Association of Manufacturers, the 'American Family Robinson,' a radio program sponsored by NAM" and Fascist in viewpoint. Wm Frew Long, manager, Associated Industries, admitted under oath that AI supplied scabs, hired stoolpigeons, and destroyed all records of these transactions.

The Cleveland Fascists naturally also corrupted the so-called free press. Seized in their files was the following:

Between June 1941 and December 7, 1942 Pegler expressed the hope that Germany and Russia would exterminate each other. It is true that when Pegler covered the Olympic Games in Germany in 1936 he wrote several columns against Hitler, but as between Germany and Russia, Pegler did not hide his preference for the former. However, America was not in the war when Pegler wrote he feared the liberal New Deal and the few gains labor had made under it more than he feared Hitler. But since Dec 7 Pegler has followed the line which Director of Facts and Figures MacLeish denounced before the publishers' convention as defeatism and divisionism. In attacking America's Allies, in attacking labor, in attacking the Negroes, Pegler has done what Hitler predicted would aid his propaganda in America.

Pegler's First Column Favored Lynching

In 1933, when Pegler went from sports to columning, the first piece he wrote was in favor of lynching. There followed a consultation with Roy Howard, who heads the Scripps-Howard chain, the United Press, and other big properties, and it was decided to hold the pro-lynching column up. However, it was run within the week, and the blame must be shared equally by the two hoodlum-minded journalists.

Incidentally, the lynching in question was of white men in San José, California. However, since then Pegler has come out against the Anti-Lynching Bill and he has repeatedly attacked the Negro people.

Sept 15, 1940 the Guild Reporter, official organ of newspapermen, reported that James P Kirby, Cleveland Press unit, "has hurled the lie back at Westbrook Pegler . . . giving documentary proof of his charges." Said Kirby: "To Mr Pegler's denial that he defended lynching I quote from his column of Dec 13, 1933 in which he said: 'As one of the rabble, I will admit that I said fine, that is swell, when the papers came up that recent day telling of the lynching of two men who killed the young fellow in California, and I haven't changed my mind yet.'"

Pegler topped his pro-lynching column with a pro-murder column March 31, 1942. Referring to a dirty smear of Interior Sec'y Ickes by a Bridgeport (Conn) paper, Pegler wrote: "I don't blame Ickes for resenting the editorial but I do insist that he should have gone right up to Bridgeport, sought out the editor and shot him dead. Or he might have knocked his head off with a ball-bat. I say this seriously. . . . Had Ickes killed the editor he would have performed a valuable service for the community in general and for the press in particular. . . ."

of the American press for its venality and corruption; and the publication of the news the press distorts or suppresses. We still believe that the press is the most powerful force in America, and we still believe it intelligent to concentrate on exposing that part of it which is corrupt.

We hope our readers will agree.

1,500 Unanswered

TO the thousands who have written letters, to the more than 1500 whose letters clutter my desk, tables and studio couch, and to the hundreds who have sent me news, clippings, tips, documents, encouragement, I must express my sincerest regrets that I cannot reply. I have to choose between getting out the week's issue and answering letters. But I will say this: every letter has been read, much advice accepted. Thank you. And I hope you will continue to send news, clippings, etc., for future issues.

To All Readers

ONE FINAL WORD: each copy of IN FACT is read by four or five persons. We can count on 500,000 readers. If each reader will do what his common sense dictates: attack Fascism, protest injustices, join with others in unions or consumer groups or guilds, fight the Congressmen up for re-election who have supported native Fascist measures, and contribute to the world-wide war against Fascism in all possible ways, then the 500,000 will become a powerful force for democracy in America. But 500,000 is not enough. There is no reason why our circulation should not reach 1,000,000 copies, and why a million subscribers and their friends should not become one of the great forces in the country. As I said long ago, IN FACT is not a profit-making organization, and fortunately we have been self-sustaining from the beginning. It is not for the purpose of profits that I urge you to help increase the circulation of this newsletter. I urge you to do so in self-defense. You and I and millions of us are united in the fight against Fascism. It is, as I said, the first objective. You and I are both pledged to continue this fight to victory over foreign Fascism, and to victory over native Fascism. I believe with all my being that this is the most important cause in the history of mankind. I believe that my little publication is a weapon in this cause. I hope you will continue to help me in making this weapon more effective.

GEORGE SELDES

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